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ABSTRACT

In 1919 the "Jewish Daily Forward" published in New York City was the leading Yiddish language newspaper in the world. This analysis explores how the themes of socialism, feminism, and Americanization were defined and developed on the women's pages, and what advice and information the page transmitted to its immigrant readers about each theme. Those columnists cited saw socialism as a compassionate political program that would reconstruct society. Women were urged to attack low wages through unionization and legislative action. "The Forward" also provided insight into daily problems of its readers. Suggestions were made concerning behavior and lifestyles appropriate to socialist women and their husbands. Women's suffrage, considered inevitable, was linked with political and economic equality. Articles about notable women, including both women in the work force and homemakers, fostered self-respect. The importance of Americanization reflected both in editorial policy and views of readers. Help was offered in forms of advice that facilitated the Americanization of immigrant women and their entry into the middle class. Emphasizing the socialistic approach held by many readers, editors of this page educated others toward that approach, while offering sympathetic yet limited help in adapting to a new environment. (CBC)

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WORLD OF OUR MOTHERS:

THE WOMEN'S PAGE OF THE JEWISH DAILY FORWARD IN 1919

BY

MAXINE SCHWARTZ SELLER

1984

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World of Our Mothers: The Women's Page of the
Jewish Daily Forward in 1919

In recent years, increased activity in the overlapping fields of ethnic history, women's history, and labor history has stimulated research about the East European Jewish women who came to the United States at the turn of the century.[1] Scholars have examined the public lives of these women as workers, suffragists, and socialists and their private lives as daughters, wives, and mothers using a variety of sources, including census data, autobiographies, novels, and oral histories. This study looks at the public and private lives of immigrant Jewish women through another virtually untapped source, the women's page of the Jewish Daily Forward. It examines the women's page at a very special time--1919-- in the aftermath of World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution and at the peak of the early twentieth century feminist movement, when its readers were still immersed in a "progressive" working class immigrant world but already on their way to Americanization and social mobility.

With a daily circulation approaching 200,000, the Jewish Daily Forward in 1919 was one of the most important foreign language papers in the United States, the leading Yiddish newspaper in the world, and the voice of a vibrant left wing workingclass Yddish culture.[2] Although Karl Marx's call for the workers of the world to unite adorned the masthead and news was covered from a labor perspective, the Forward attracted the apolitical as well as the political. The paper was lively, easy to read, secular (though respectful of traditional religion) and

committed to the Americanization as well as the politicization of the immigrant. Its influence was immense. "In our house the 'Bible' was Der Forverts, the literary work that determined our outlook and decided our patterns of conduct....In my parents' time everyone they knew read and followed the Forward," wrote a nostalgic admirer, with perhaps only slight exageration.[3]

While much has been written about the role of the Forward in the education and Americanization of immigrants, the special pages addressed to women have not heretofore been specifically examined. Women did not confine their reading of the Forward to the women's pages, nor can it be assumed that these pages were read exclusively by women. Nevertheless many women did read the women's pages and were, presumably, influenced by them. [4]

The women's page is a valuable source for the historian of Jewish immigrant women for several reasons. First, as a regular feature in a widely read and trusted newspaper, it defined the issues the paper felt were important to women readers and transmitted the paper's position on those issues to its audience. An examination of its contents, therefore, provides insight into the spread of information and the formation of public opinion among Yiddish speaking women. Secondly, the women's page is a valuable source because it covered many facets of its readers' lives, reflecting their public as well as their private concerns. Examination of the women's page in 1919, a year in which public issues such as labor problems and women's suffrage were particularly salient, provides insight into the tensions in the lives of women with multiple and not always compatible commitments to work, politics, and family.

Finally, the women's page of the Forward is a valuable historical source because it is both descriptive and prescriptive. Astute observers of the immigrant Jewish community of which they were a part, journalists who wrote for the women's page in 1919 left vivid and authentic pictures of the activities and problems of Jewish women moving from the old world into the new. They also left a record of the guidance a popular and trusted paper offered to the women making this transition.

In 1919 the women's page was published weekly, identified by a banner headline, "Women's Interests," and the subtitle, "Facts and Thoughts about the Lives and Position of Women." To the right of the headline was a drawing of a young woman holding a baby; to the left was a drawing of an old woman knitting. The austere appearance of the page conveyed a message of seriousness, not, as was frequently the case in middle class American women's pages, of frivolity. Typically, the page consisted of seven columns of small print broken only by headlines, "teasers" (descriptive subtitles) and, rarely, a simple drawing.

Assuming that readers, though often lacking formal education, were interested in acquiring "culture," columnists referred to or quoted Goethe, Hegel, Turgenev, Nietzsche, Wagner, and similar figures. Fiction, featured elsewhere in the Forward, was rare on the women's page, although columnists often used stories, true or invented, to illustrate their points. The famous "Bintel Brief" feature, a letters-to -the-editor column, did not appear on the women's page, but letters in which readers commented on particular articles were occasionally included.

Both men and women wrote for the women's page, but because many articles were unsigned or attributed to pen names (such "A Litvak" or "A Lawyer"), it is difficult to ascertain what proportion was written by each. The two most frequently published women columnists in 1919 were Regina Freshwater (1888-1959), who wrote on social and family life, and Dr. Esther Luria (1877-?), who wrote on economic issues and education. Both were immigrants and socialists. Freshwater worked in the editorial offices of the Workman's Circle, a socialist fraternal order, as well as for the Forward and was also the author of an English language cook book. Luria, holder of a doctorate in Humanistic Studies from the University of Berne, Switzerland, had been exiled to Siberia for revolutionary activity with the Bund before escaping to the United States, where she earned a precarious living writing for the Forward and other Yiddish publications. 5

The content of the woman's page was shaped by the events of the day, the policies of the paper (dominated over the years by editor Abraham Cahan) and the needs and interests of the readers. In 1919 at least half of the page was devoted to political and economic issues, including a regular column of national and international news called "Notes from the Woman's World" and feature articles on suffrage, wages, and notable women, usually political or social activists. This heavy emphasis on public affairs, unusual for a women's page, reflected the political ferment of the post war period and the labor activist orientation of the paper. Equally important, it reflected the interests of its Jewish immigrant readers, many of whom in 1919 were deeply involved in economic and political life.

Most single women were in the paid workforce, usually the garment industry, and married women, who usually left the garment shops to become "housewives," often continued to earn by keeping boarders or "minding" a small individual or family business. This high level of participation in economic activity continued an East European pattern in which women were accustomed to earning some, and occasionally all, of the family income and to moving freely and independently outside the home in order to do so. [6] Extensive participation in political life also continued a pattern begun in Europe, where a conspicuous minority had been active in anti-Czarist revolutionary parties, trade unions, Zionism, and the socialist Bund. In the United States many more participated in massive strikes in the garment industry, in tenant and consumer actions, in school protests, and in the suffrage and socialist movements. [7]

While about half of the columns on the women's page in 1919 dealt with public life, the remaining half dealt with private or domestic matters. These columns discussed polite behavior, social life, love, marriage, child psychology, and the education of children. The prevalence of such topics reflects the fact that most of the readers were young women who, regardless of their other interests, considered marriage and motherhood central to their lives either as present realities or as goals for the future.

Despite the traditional pictures on the masthead and the readers' intererest in family life, much of the domestic material commonly found in publications read by middle class American born

women was not found in the women's pages of the Forward in 1919. There were no consumer reports, no food lore or recipes, no instructions on housecleaning, laundering, or sewing, and the few articles on fashion or beauty were satirical or disparaging The absence of homemaking instruction may indicate that the staff and readers thought such things best learned at home, or perhaps Jewish women, immersed in housekeeping chores, preferred in their rare moments of leisure to read about something else. Articles of sewing instruction would certainly have been superfluous to veterans of the sweatshops, while consumer news, beauty, and fashion were dismissed by the staff (though probably not by most readers) as inappropriate for the serious socialist woman.[8]

Cutting across the categories of women's public and private lives and permeating the entire women's page in 1919 were three major themes-- socialism, feminism, and Americanization. The Forward had been founded to bring the working class Jewish immigrant to socialism, a goal which had been reinforced by the recent victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. It is not surprising, therefore, that the paper's commitment to socialism was clearly visible in the women's page. While the Forward had no formal commitment to feminism, socialists gave at least verbal support to the women's movement, and editor Cahan was sympathetic to the problems of his female consitutency. It also not surprising, therefore, that feminism was a major theme in the women's page in the year of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Most salient of all, however, was the third theme, Americanization, a long standing interest of the paper and, especially during and immediately after World War I, a major

concern of the American population as a whole. The analysis that follows will explore how these three themes , socialism, feminism, and Americanization, were defined and developed on the women's page and what advice and information the page transmitted to its readers about each.

Despite its editorial support of the Bolshevik Revolution in the Soviet Union (which would later be withdrawn) , the Forward favored a democratic, gradualist approach to socialism in what editor Cahan considered the more open and less class conscious society of the United States.[9] This was also the position taken by the women's page in 1919. Columnists who wrote for the women's page assumed that their reader understood the general socialist outlook (if not the intricacies of dialectical materialism) and was in sympathy with it. Their columns frequently referred to capitalism negatively and to the proletariet positively, but specific allusions to class struggle were rare and were often muted by gender solidarity. Their goal were the cultural and personal growth of the individual worker as well as the economic advancement of the working class, and their perspective was international. Most important, they used socialism not only as a political program for the reconstruction of society, but also as a source of insight into the daily problems of the reader and as a to moral behavior in both public and private life.

A feature article on kitchen work, "Her Realm--Slavery" illustrates many of these generalizations. The author deplored the plight of the "proletariet wife" enslaved by kitchen work in the "contemporary capitalist order" but defined the problem in

humanistic as well as political terms. Kitchen "slavery" was condemned because it deprived women of the opportunity to contribute to the worker's movement--a recognition of the potential conflict for women between the demands of public, or political, and private, or domestic, life. Kitchen "slavery" was also condemned on apolitical grounds, because it was hard, unappreciated, and stifling; it "takes all her skill, devours all her thoughts, and leaves her no time for any other human interests." Class conflict was muted by gender solidarity Although the article was addressed to the working woman, it expressed sympathy rather than hostility toward the rich homemaker with servants because "the work of management is not light, if she has a taste for beauty and cleanliness as well as order." Thus gender solidarity overruled class antagonism.[10]

The solution to kitchen slavery was kitchen socialism, the replacement of private kitchens with cooperatives, though no details were provided as to how the cooperatives would work. The article concluded with an international perspective; cooperatives, the reader was informed, were familiar to progressive minded Europeans and had freed women in Austria, Germany, and Russia for participation in the Revolution. The columnist did not inform readers that cooperatives for housework and childcare had been been proposed by American feminists such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman for years, a symptom of the social distance between most immigrants and middle class American feminists.[11]

The women's page provided socialist insights into the problems of women working outside as well as inside the home, focussing in the spring of 1919 on the issue of women's wages.

Low wages were a major concern to the many Jewish women supporting themselves and, often, dependents on half the meager sums paid to their male counterparts. Columnists acknowledged the value of revolution in achieving justice for workers, including women, in other countries but recommended that American women attack the problem of their low wages through unionization and legislative action.

In a feature article on women's wages, Dr. Esther Luria defended the revolutionary solution in the Soviet Union. Somewhat unconvincingly, she denied reports that women physicians there were paid less than men; "the Russian woman [physician] is often idealistic and wants to help the peasants. If there is no vacancy, she will work as a nurse at lower wages." Showing the impact of America on her own ideology, the former revolutionary recommended trade unionism, not Bolshevism, as appropriate for the United States. She urged her readers to join unions, holding up as a model the cultural and intellectual life made possible by the higher wages paid to the members of the Ladies Waist and Dressmakers Union. Despite her own commitment to a broader socialist ideology, Luria's column focused the reader's attention on personal improvement more than social change[12]

Unlike Samuel Gompers, leader of the American Federation of Labor, columnists who wrote for the women's page did not consider socialism to be in opposition to trade unionism; rather, the two were considered complementary means to the same end, the advancement of both the individual worker and the working class. A third, equally legitimate means to the same end was the

legislative process in which women, who had won the right to vote in New York state in 1917, could now participate. The weekly news column "Notes from the Women's World" urged readers to campaign for a state minimum wage applicable to both men and women and high enough to insure all workers a comfortable standard of living. "Then employers will not be able to exploit women, lower the wages of men, and make trouble in general for the trade unions."[13] "Notes from the Women's World" reported with evident approval lobbying and political demonstrations in the interests of the woman worker by gender based coalitions across class and ethnic lines, including the Women's Suffrage Party, the Women's Trade Union League, the National Council of Jewish Women, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.[14] Thus in the women's page socialism was in effect redefined as any economic or political action undertaken alone or with middle class allies, to better the immediate condition of the working woman.

In 1919 concerned groups were debating whether women needed special protection in the workforce because of their maternal functions and supposed moral and physical vulnerability. Opponents of protective laws argued that these laws put women at a disadvantage in the job market and proposed, instead, protection for both sexes. Most middle class American reformers favored special protective legislation, but the women's page of the Forward, disagreed. Coming from a culture that viewed the working woman as strong rather than weak, its colunmnists favored equal protection for workers of both sexes , including an effective system of inspection in which both women and men would participate. Given a high enough minimum wage, women could

protect their own health and morals.[15]

Although socialists usually viewed the struggle for women's wages as part of the greater struggle for justice for the working class, Luria understood that women's economic problems were the result of sex as well as class. Luria offered the traditional explanations for women's low wages--that parents invested in training for sons but not daughters, that women worked in unskilled and unorganized trades, and that, considering their jobs temporary, women would not acquire skills or pay union dues. However, she also pointed out the role of sex discrimination. She noted that skilled women who did exactly the same work as men-- replacing them in heavy industry during World War I, for example, or practicing "male" professions-- still earned less than their male counterparts. She attributed this to prejudice against women workers and to the unfounded belief that women were always supported by men and therefore had little need for money.[16]

Recognizing that male workers sometimes resented the the presence of women in the workplace, columnists defended the interests of working women. They insisted that men must accept the fact that women were entitled to pursue their own economic interests and to get "equal pay for work of equal worth."[17] The women's page did not share the view, widespread even among socialists, that women should be at home rather than in the paid labor force. To the contrary, Luria applauded the entry of women into a broad range of formerly male occupations during the recent war and predicted, optimistically but inaccurately, that the

gains would be permanent, a position not shared by most male workers or their unions.[18]

While columnists acknowledged tensions between men and women in the workplace, they rarely saw, or would not acknowledge, tensions between men and women within the workers' movement. Trade unionists who opposed the appointment of Frances Perkins to the New York State Industrial Commission, "to our shame," were scolded for breaking what the columnist apparently considered a long standing and universally accepted alliance between labor and women; "the great struggle for women and the worker formerly went hand in hand."[19] The columnists were silent, however, on the problematic status of women in the Socialist Party and on the discrimination women faced within the trade unions, even in unions representing predominantly female trades, although Jewish women had complained of this discrimination as early as the shirtwaistmakers strike of 1909.[20]

The use of socialism as a class conscious guide to public morality appeared in articles demanding justice for American Blacks. While much of the nation was indifferent to the worsening plight of Blacks, columnist Michael Zametkin informed Jewish women about the loss of Black voting rights in the South; "we have democracy in one part of the land but not in the other."[21] "Notes from the Women's World" cited shocking statistics on Black maternal deaths and infant mortality. Justice for Blacks was to be achieved through socialism; the government must provide free doctors and nurses. To make this happen, women and workers must have political power. Here the women's page linked socialism and feminism; realization of a socialist goal, state medical care,

depended upon the realization of a feminist goal, women's suffrage. [22]

The women's page used socialism or, perhaps more accurately, the class consciousness derived from socialism, to provide perspectives on private as well as public morality. In columns containing wonderful descriptions of the newly prosperous ans ostentatious "allrightniks," with their expensive clothes and jewelry and country vacations, columnists warned their still predominantly working class audience against selfishness, pretentiousness, and other moral pitfalls which they identified with movement into the middle class. Regina Freshwater criticized "allrightniks" for making a public show of large charitable contributions while ignoring the needs of their own poor relatives. She contrasted their hypocritical behavior with the true generousity of the Workman's Circle, the socialist lodge that could be relied upon to care for sick workers and their families. An ambivalent rather than condemnatory attitude among socialist Jews toward mobility into the middle class is indicated by the fact that the Workman's Circle lent impoverished members money to become capitalists, albeit humbly, in businesses of their own--a practice which socialist columnist Freshwater praised. [23]

Her socialism apparently tempered by the realities of American life, Freshwater did not condemn "allrightniks" for getting rich, but for behaving badly once they did so. She criticized women "allrightniks" for exagerating their husbands' financial success and wearing expensive jewelry bought on credit.

Her columns portrayed rich women who vacationed in the country as playing cards all day while their neglected children drowned or were killed in traffic. Freshwater urged the working class woman to forgo cardplaying, "a product of our present materialistic life style...the passion to grasp and 'easy' dollar." Instead, she should join educational and cultural clubs that provided uplifting activity without taking too much time or money from the family.[24] Thus the women's page gave readers advice not only about improving their situations as workers, but also about the behavior and lifestyle appropriate to the socialist woman and her husband.

As already noted, Luria demonstrated a feminist as well as a socialist perspective in recognizing the impact of sex discrimination on women's wages, and socialist goals such as state financed medical care were linked to the feminist goal of women's suffrage, A feminist perspective permeated many other areas of the women's page as well, appearing in columns about both public and private life. Feminism was explicit in columnists' commitment to women's political and economic equality and implicit in their concern for women's problems and the value placed upon their activities.

Political feminism in 1919 focussed, as might be expected, on the campaign first to pass the Nineteenth Amendment in Congress and, when that was successfully accomplished, to win its ratification in the state legislatures. Regular "Notes from the Women's World" columns and feature articles provided sophistocated political analysis of the progress of the Amendment in the United States and, placing political feminism in an

international perspective, applauded advances toward political equality in England, France, Italy and India. Nowhere did a columnist on the women's page argue, as many of their American born counterparts did, that women needed the ballot in order to protect the sanctity and sobriety of the home. Columnists apparently recognized that for the immigrant generation of Jewish women, whose culture had never confined them to the household, interest in public affairs was normal rather than exceptional and was important to young, single women for whom issues of protecting the family were not yet relevant.

Significantly, the women's page did not feel it necessary to argue the cause of political equality for women at all; its correctness was considered self-evident and the support of readers, many of whom had been active in recent state suffrage campaigns, justifiably assumed.[25] Columnists who had only recently witnessed the defeat of Tsarism and Kaiserism considered the victory of women's suffrage an inevitable sign of the the enlightenment and progress of the age. [26] Nevertheless, they gave full credit to Susan B. Anthony, Dr. Marie Shaw and other suffragists. Veterans of the long battle for socialism, columnists understood and noted that the vote was not being "given" to women; women had won it by more than fifty years of struggle.[27]

While middle class, American born feminists focussed their attention almost exclusively on suffrage in 1919, columnists of the women's page of the Forward defined feminism in broader terms. They reminded readers that many state laws discriminated

against women in marriage, divorce, property and inheritance rights, and family life and warned that "these remainders from barbarism must be erased from all the law books." [28] They called attention to the importance of psychological as well as legal barriers to women's equality; "it will take time to uproot...[men's] prejudices about the 'weaker sex' and before women themselves will look upon themselves as completely equal in ability with the 'stronger sex.'"[29] Finally, unlike most middle class American feminists, they were careful always to link political equality to economic equality. "There should be for equal work, equal pay. This is naturally of the greatest importance to working women."[30]

Like other women's publications, the women's pages included many feature columns about notable women, past and present, but in 1919 these often had a feminist and sometimes also a socialist perspective. While stories about the wives of public figures also appeared, much more space was devoted to accounts of women who were important for their own achievements. Columnist Jacob Padalier wrote about powerful women of the past, including the medieval Johanna who supposedly served as Pope John VIII until pregnancy revealed her identity.[31]

Moving from myth to history, Padalier wrote a lengthy series on women heroes of the French Revolution. Although these articles told of the personal lives and love affairs as well as the political activities of Madame Roland, Chalotte Cordee, and others, their content was implicitly feminist. Padalier showed that women could aspire to public power and change the course of events. He also showed the problems women faced in doing so;

women's attempts to participate fully in the French Revolution were resisted not only by aristocratic reactionaries, but also by fellow revolutionists opposed to equality for women.[32]

Obituaries of contemporary women in public life, usually Jewish labor activists, provided "role models" for political activism closer to home. Readers of the women's page learned, for example, about Julia Pollock, self-educated intellectual, member of the Social Revolutionary Party, operator of a cooperative dressmaking shop and a revolutionary press in Russia, and tireless supporter of the workers' movement in the United States. They also learned about Amelia Barr, an immigrant from England, "a mother of thirteen children and a writer of seventy novels....One often found her with a child in hand sitting and reading a book." Here intellectual achievement, traditionally valued only for Jewish men, was endorsed by the women's page as praiseworthy for women as well, whether combined with politics or motherhood.[33]

The women's page honored women's contributions in private as well as public life. A column titled "There Are Also Good 'Busybodies'" praised the homemaker whose lively interest in her neighbors enabled her to help them in emergencies (such as the influenza epidemic) with money or needed services.[34] By expressing appreciation for the homemaker, the traditional caretaker, as well as for the woman working woman and the political activist, the women's page fostered the self respect of all types of readers.

A feminist perspective was implicit, though not explicit, in columnists' perceptive descriptions of the problems their women readers faced in every day life. The best example was a poignant series, "The Seven Stages in the Life of a Woman," by Beryl Botvinnik (written under the pen name "Lead Pencil").[35] Taking his cue from Shakesespeare--"the world's a stage"--the author followed a "typical" woman through seven successive phases of life in which, like a skilled actress, she played one role after another--school girl, "princess," shop girl, young wife, mother, middle aged woman, and old woman. Botvinnik noted that women's roles were determined by the men (suitors, then husbands) who constituted their audience and paid for their performance and that therefore women moved through life with few real choices. Seeing no prospect for change, he recommended silence, a silence which, ironically, his column had already broken. "Only a brute, a murderer " would tell the hopeful young girl what a "drab path" awaited her. [36]

Botvinnik left a vivid picture of the immigrant woman's life in the early twentieth century industrial city. Every stage of life had both positive and negative features. Botvinnik described the positive--the pleasures of courtship, the pride of the first job, the elation of new motherhood, the satisfaction of companionship with grown children, and the renewed zest for life that came in the later years.

More memorable, however, were his descriptions of darker times--the woman's panic at approaching thirty still unmarried, "she trembles at every compliment, hoping it is not just 'small talk'...she smiles, but it is a lie. Life has taken her in its

claws;" the loss of personal autonomy that came with the long desired marriage "she has left the authority of the foreman...only to be under the authority of her husband...she is not saying or thinking her own language and thoughts, only his....She has stopped belonging to herself...she lives because of him;" motherhood in the tenements, "the glow that came...with the first child has disappeared. She has another and another and another, and she has only anguish and fear. The beautiful name of mother is no more than a cover for the work of the woman who is in truth a maid, a baby nurse, and an incubator... for children against whom she has turned with a knife so that they shouldn't come....; the frustrations and longings of every day life, "every time she takes a child's jacket in her hand she feels a burst of happiness...But how tightly she is imprisoned by those jackets... the woman, the human being restrained, awakens in her...She has lived so little...."[37]

Some of the problems described by Botvinnik were related more closely to readers' social class than to their gender. The difficulty of rearing a large family was clearly felt by fathers as well as mothers and was related primarily to poverty; nevertheless, the problem was experienced differently by the woman who was, after all, the one who bore the children (or, as in Botvinnik's column, tried to avoid bearing them) and who provided daily care. Other problems, such as the tremendous pressure to marry and the loss of personal autonomy and decline of contact with the wider world after marriage, were specific to women, although the form they took might vary with social class. In identifying these problems, and in recognizing that financial

dependence on men made it difficult for women to control their own lives, Botvinnik wrote from an implicitly feminist.

While middle class American publications for women portrayed homemaking as feminine fulfillment or, alternatively, an opportunity for the display of scientific management, the women's page of the Forward acknowledged that housework was repetitive and unpleasant and that marriage and motherhood were restrictive as well as fulfilling.[38] The woman who read Botvinnik's columns may have been reassured simply to learn that her frustrations were not unique, but the women's page offered her no practical help other than the vague proposal for kitchen cooperatives. Nowhere in the women's pages in 1919 was the suggestion made that men should participate in housework or childcare. Although paid work was viewed as appropriate for women and men, homemaking was seen as appropriate only for women, individually or, in the case of the kitchen cooperatives, collectively. Progressive in their advocacy of equality in the workplace and the voting booth, columnists supported traditional sex roles within the home.

Despite the excitement engendered by the recent Bolshevik Revolution and the ongoing campaign for the Nineteenth Amendment, Americanization was more prominent in the women's page in 1919 than either socialism or feminism and, in case of conflict, appeared to take priority over both. The predominance of Americanization reflected not only the Forward's longstanding editorial policy on this matter, but also the views of most of its readers. Like other immigrants, Jews were sometimes homesick for the scenes of

their birthplace, but even in the optimistic aftermath of the Russian Revolution relatively few (compared to other immigrant groups) returned to Europe. The women's page implicitly endorsed their decision to remain in the United States. The "old country" was rarely mentioned in its columns and nostalgia was non-existent. Women were told, in effect, to look ahead, not back. Nor was the emphasis on Americanization modified in 1919 by concerns about the preservation of Jewish tradition. Although many readers were observant Jews from conviction or habit, religious holidays such as Passover and Shavuot went unmentioned. Jewish women were not urged, as women were in other immigrant publications, to be the guardians of religion or ethnicity.[39]

Columnists were eager to help women adjust their public lives to American values and conditions. They encouraged women to express political and social activism in ways that were acceptable and appropriate to the United States; for example, by participation in labor unions, lobbying, and political parties. Columnists were equally eager to help readers Americanize their private lives, to behave as individuals and as members of families in ways that were acceptable and appropriate to the United States. Help in Americanizing private life was offered in the form of advice on social behavior, courtship, marriage, "progressive" childrearing, and education. If followed, much of this advice could facilitate not only Americanization, but also --ironically, considering its socialist sponsorship--entry into the middle class.

An example of this kind of advice is a column titled "What Does 'Interesting Company' Mean?" in which Regina Freshwater

encouraged readers to move from the aggressive, outspoken female culture of the East European "shtetl" (and American tenement) to the more subdued behavior of an idealized middle class American "lady."[40] Acacording to Freshwater, readers who wanted to be considered "interesting company," must learn to be good listeners. They must also learn not to complain. Freshwater expressed sympathy for the woman who had lost a child, or who was sick, or whose aging sister could not find a husband, leaving for today's reader a description of the familiar tragedies of immigrant life. Her main interest was not description, however, but prescription; "of these things [tragedies] it is not good to talk when people come together because everyone has his own pack of troubles which he would like to forget for a little while." To be "interesting company" one must be not only willing to listen and always cheerful, one must also be agreeable. Freshwataer admonished her apparently argumentative readers not to dispute every point with their companions because "no one wants to be shown in front of others that he is wrong." 41

Verbal assertiveness was important, indeed, indispensible, in America as well as Europe for ordinary women who survived by buying and selling in the streets and marketplaces and for intellectuals and political activists who argued in the union halls and coffee shops. In advising women to subdue this assertiveness Freshwater was advising themn to give up behavior associated with economic and political activism in the interest of Americanization and, more specifically, entry into the middle class. Women who followed her advice would have found it more

difficult to achieve their goals in public life but easier to achieve what some defined as success in private life--marriage to an upwardly mobile, Americanized man.

The many columns dealing with courtship, love, and marriage offered help with familiar problems in an unfamiliar environment. These columns met a need for women whose mothers, aunts and other trusted advisors were often far away and whose advice, had they been here, may have seemed inappropriate in urban America. In Europe, marriages had traditionally been arranged and contact between the sexes closely supervised (although by the late nineteenth century this had begun to change). In America, however, most young women sought romance on their own in the factory, the dancehall, or the streets, sometimes with unfortunate results. Married women, too, faced new problems, as immigration, poverty, and adjustment to a different lifestyle aggravated the normal tensions of family life. The women's page offered these women sympathy and understanding while guiding them toward goals endorsed by Jewish tradition, American social workers, and the staff of the Forward, the establishment and maintenance of stable nuclear families.

Sometimes this guidance was addressed to parents. Columnist Yetta Gold warned parents, for example, to protect patriotic and emotional young daughters from being seduced by homecoming soldiers during the abnormal postwar period.[42] Freshwater warned parents of the dire consequences of insisting, in traditional European fashion, that daughters marry in birth order.[43]

Usually advice was addressed to the young women themselves, often in the form of morals drawn from sensational court cases or

melodramatic stories about love, jealousy, adultery, and divorce. Typical of such advice stories was that of Lili, a Jewish working girl who flirted with the Black elevator operator at the "shop." The young man fell hopelessly in love with her and wanted to marry her. Consumed with guilt, Lilli quit her job, leaving the young man broken hearted. The columnist excused Lilli's "love play" at the factory as an attempt to add interest to a hard and barren life but used her story to warn readers of the dangers of flirting. "Sometimes the boy is the victim and sometimes the girl. It starts with a joke and ends with a broken heart."[44] Similar stories warned against hasty marriages and against choosing partners columnists considered too old, too rich, too poor, or othewise inappropriate.[45]

Reflecting the age of most of its readers, the women's page was usually sympathetic to young wives as opposed to mothers-in-law, although young women who complained of the latter were reminded that they too would someday be mothers-in-law[46]. Although a small percentage of Jewish immigrants, including the famous anarchist Emma Goldman, believed in free love and rejected conventional marriage, the women's page endorsed traditional sexual morality for both men and women. A column about socialite Austin Flint Gibson, who sued for divorce because his wife had lovers before marriage, condemned the sexual double standard. "We think the men should be as pure as they want the women to be...when there is no double morality...truth and purity will reign in family life."[47]

Reflecting the viewpoint of its intended audience, the women's page was usually more sympathetic to the viewpoint of women than of men. Freshwater, for example, criticized husbands for refusing to pay their wives' bills or, worse still, for being unfaithful. She warned, however, that women often shared the blame for such problems. "There are women that have the nature to make themselves loathsome to their husbands and then are amazed that the husbands do something bad to them...." Freshwater's desire to champion the cause of women proved secondary to her interest in preserving the nuclear family; the wife was given the traditional advice that, to avoid marital problem, she must meet her husband more than half way. "If a woman wants understanding from her husband, she should first show understanding."[48]

While the women's page supported the traditional family even on occasion, as Freshwater's advice suggests, at the expense of the wife, it also supported limiting the size of that family, a position both advantageous to the wife and consistent with the example set by the middle class American family. Interestingly, family limitation was not suggested as a means of increasing the social mobility of children but of improving the life of the mother. Botvinnik wrote sympathetically of the harrassed young mother who attempted self-afflicted abortion. Luria warned that the physical and economic hardships of too many children could drive a woman to suicide.[49] Freshwater warned that women with many children must expect to worry about their future, bear the blame if they turned out badly, and risk being neglected by them in old age.[50]

Explicit references to birth control in 1919 would have resulted in the Forward's losing its mailing privileges, but the topic was not new to its readers. The Socialist Party had expressed a tentative interest. More important, Emma Goldman, Rose Pastor Stokes, and other radical Jewish women had been active in the early birth control movement before World War I, and Margaret Sanger's first birth control clinic had been opened--and welcomed--in the heavily Jewish Lower East Side of New York City in 1916. Hints about the desirablility of smaller families in the women's pages are therefore not surprising and are compatible with Jewish women's interest in Americanization and social mobility as well as their interest in socialism and feminism.[51]

Whether the family was large or small, most married women considered childrearing their central task, a focus reflected in regular articles on the subject in the women's pages. Childrearing may have been even more important to Jewish women in the United States than it had been in Europe, since many consoled themselves for the hardships of their own lives with high hopes for the future of their children; in America anything was possible. American children brought problems as well as possiblities, however. Women found the tasks of childrearing complicated by the absence of their own mothers and other helpers, the dangers of urban street life, and the demands of a new environment in which their own upbringing seemed an unreliable guide.[52]

To women eager to be successful in the parenting of a new American generation, the women's page offered what was in its time sophistocated and up to date guidance. Although American

born social workers in the postwar years gave foreign born women instruction in feeding, bathing, and dressing their children, the women's page ignored these mundane matters. It offered instead a steady stream of articles, usually by Dr. Esther Luria, on child psychology and on public education, subjects of widespread interest in both radical and conservative circles in the early twentieth century. In articles such as "The Child and the Community," "The Child and Its Interests," "The Child and Its Memories," and "Sympathies Felt by Children," Luria introduced the work of educational experts such as John Dewey, and G. Stanley Hall (though she did not mention them by name) to her immigrant readers.

Reflecting the enlightened American opinion of the day, columnists deplored corporal punishment and recommended protecting children from premature exposure to harsh realities. They also admonished mothers to recognize the importance of fantasy and play as well as study in the development of the child's personality. [53] Adopting the techniques of the union to the needs of the family, Luria urged mothers to organize for the purpose of bringing children's theatre and wholesome movies to their neighborhoods.[54]

Recognizing the eagerness with which many Jewish mothers exposed their offspring to cultural and educational activities, the women's page warned against pushing children into experiences they had neither the interest nor maturity to appreciate; an active five-year-old, for example, should not be taken to a museum.[55] While American born social workers often accused

immigrant mothers of neglecting their children, the women's pages cautioned against too much interference. "One cannot make from a child what one wants. You must look at their inclinations...Parents and teachers can't play with a child's soul, even when they do their best."[56]

Offering comfort to immigrant mothers whose children did not live up to their expectations, Luria acknowledged that bringing up children was hard and that despite one's best efforts the results were unpredictable; "some will break up their own lives and others." She did not favor the permissiveness and emphasis of self expression advocated by the more radical progressive educators, however, seeing them incompatible with the development of social responsibility, a value central to socialism and Judaism. Children should be made to help at home according to age and ability. "The child must learn to consider the parents, brothers, and sisters and then after that the community. Then he will be able to leave the house in the future."[57] The goal of childrearing was to produce an adult who would be both socially responsible and autonomous.

Unlike many Roman Catholic immigrants who built parochial schools, the vast majority of Jewish immigrant parents in the early twentieth century sent their children to the expanding public schools. Luria gave readers sensible advice on how to help their children do well in these schools. Since the schools considered the acculturation of immigrant children, and through them of their parents, to be one of their most essential tasks, advice that helped children succeed in school could facilitate the Americanization of the entire family. [58]

The women's page was supportive but not uncritical of public education, however, . Like many American born educators of her day, Luria attacked the schools for being "mechanical" and cold. As a socialist, she also criticized them for failing to develop "comradely feelings" among the children and for contradicting the values socialist parents inculcated at home. Recognizing that the values of socialism often differed from those of the competitive public school, Luria resolved these contradictions in favor of the schools. Despite her misgivings, she urged parents to reinforce what their children learned in school. Mothers should provide plants in the home, for example, to support the nature programs in the schools and see that children studied every day instead of just before examinations.[59]

Luria informed parents about the different curricula offered in the new comprehensive high schools, warned them that the academic track did not prepare for jobs, and urged them to seek the advice of the principal in making career and education decisions for their children. [60] Her socialist convictions led her to express strong reservations about the eagerness of working class parents to launch their children through education into the middle class. She reminded readers that entering a profession was not the equivalent of entering the garden of Eden, and that the intelligent working person was deserving of respect.[61] At the same time, her interest in Americanization and, even more important, her respect for education led her to encourage adults as well as children to get as much schooling as possible. She told readers, for example, about private commercial schools

where young people could learn bookkeeping, a frequent first step white collar work, and, encourged education for working people as well as children. "In no country is there greater opportunity for education than America, where people can study for free....and at the same time earn a piece of bread in a shop....There is no tradition of shame for a student to work." 62 In the expanding and increasingly credentialled twentieth century American economy, educational mobility could lead to social mobility. Thus Luria's desire to help her readers fit into American life led her to give advice that facilitated their leaving their class and, presumably, its interests behind.

Like the Forward of which it was a part, the women's page changed with the times and with the increasing Americanization of its intended audience. In 1919, however, it spoke to women who were still rooted in working class, radical Yiddish culture. Moreover, it spoke to them in the Indian summer of that culture, in the glowing aftermath of Bolshevik and feminist victory before it was widely recognized that the Soviet Union suppressed civil liberties and the Nineteenth Amendment did little to improve women's lives. Yet even in 1919 and even in the works of a socialist and feminist such as Esther Luria, Americanization emerged as the first priority. Despite their radical background, Luria and other columnists who wrote for the women's page in 1919 were helping their readers move toward mainstream, middle class American life. The women's page at this fascinating point in history provides insight into the multiple and sometimes conflicting agendas of the "progressive" Yiddish speaking community's most influential newspaper and, indirectly, into the

rapidly changing lives of the readers it described and influenced.

Although in 1919 the workers' movement was more important than the women's movement to most of the columnists who wrote for the women's page and the needs of Americanization shaped their approach to both, conflicts among these three agendas produced conflicting advice for readers. Women were told to be loyal participants in the workers movement but assured that it was all right to move into the middle class as long as they were ethical and compassionate. They were told to be active in public life but at the same time to fulfill the traditional (and time consuming) roles of homemaker, wife, and mother. They were encouraged to enter American life with enthusiasm and grace, but Americanization was defined in terms of the familiar Jewish values, albeit in altered form, of the male headed nuclear family and of educational achievement.

It would be simplistic to attribute these contradictions solely to the multiple priorities of the staff of the Forward,, however. They also reflected the contradictions in the lives of readers, women beginning the transition from "Yiddishkeit" to middle class American life. If the women's page underscored the contradictions inherent in this transition, it also suggested ways those contradictions could be resolved. Idealistic working class women could move into the middle class without guilt when socialism was defined, as it was in the women's page, less as a specific economic program than as an ethic, a democratic and compassionate outlook on public and private life. With socialism thus redefined, politically "progressive" women could move from

admiration for Lenin in 1919 to support for President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930s.[63] The women's page suggested that women could take part in public and private life without challenging traditional sex roles if they did so sequentially. This suggestion was made indirectly, through columns such as Botvinnik's which tacitly assumed that women participated in the paid labor market, the unions, and the socialist movement while single and devoted themselves entirely to domestic concerns after marriage. This assumption both reflected and helped shape reality for the majority of readers, although some continued work or political activity after marriage and others, such as Rose Schneiderman and Pauline Newman, never married at all.

By defining Americanization in terms of the familiar Jewish values of the stable nuclear family and educational achievement (now defined as secular rather than religious study and expanded to include women as well as men) the women's page once again both reflected and helped shape women's choices. Finally, by giving Americanization priority over socialism and feminism, the women's page forshadowed the fate of the radical working class culture for which it and the Forward spoke, a culture that would ultimately be transformed, if not defeated, by time, social mobility, Stalinism, and McCarthyism.

Like the Forward of which it was a part, the women's page walked a fine line between leading and following public opinion. Even in 1919, a peak time for socialist and feminist activism, it did not urge readers to make radical changes in their values or lifestyles, nor did it emphasize conflict either between the classes or the sexes. Rather, it reinforced the democratic,

progressive approach to public affairs already held by many of its readers, educated others toward that approach, and offered its readers sympathetic if limited help in adapting their private lives as wives and mothers to the American environment.

Notes

1.Examples of this research include Charlotte Baum, Paula Hyman, and Sonya Michel, The Jewish Woman in America, New York: The Dial Press, 1976; Sydelle Kramer and Jenny Masur, eds., Jewish Grandmothers, Boston: Beacon Press, 1976; Alice Kessler Harris, "Organizing the Unorganizeable: Three Jewish Women and Their Union," Labor History 17:1 (winter 1976) 5-23; June Sochen, Consecrate Every Day: The Public Lives of Jewish American Women 1880-1980 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981; and William Toll, The Making of an Ethnic Middle Class: Portland Jewry over Four Generations (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982, "Jewish Women and Social Modernization," 42-76

2.For background on the Jewish Daily Forward, see Barbara Ann Portnoy Berman, Environmental Impact on the Ideology of a Social Movement Organization: The Jewish Daily Forward 1887-1966, PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1972; Melech Epstein, Jewish Labor in the U.S.A.: An Industrial, Political, and Cultural Hisory of the Jewish Labor Movement 1882-1914, Vol. I, Chapter 18, New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1950, 1969; Irving Howe, World of Our Fathers, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich, 1976; Ronald Sanders, The Downtown Jews: Portraits of an Immigrant Generation, New York: New American Library, 1969, 1976; and the autobiography of editor Abraham Cahan, Bleter fun Mayn Lebn, 5 volumes, New York: The Forward Association, 1926-1931. 1969). See also Mordecai Soltes, The

Yiddish Press, An Americanizing Agency, New York: Teachers College Columbia University, 1925 and Robert E. Park, The Immigrant Press and Its Control, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922. For further bibliography on the Forward and other Yiddish newspapers, see Robert Singerman, "The American Jewish Press 1823-1983: A Bibliographic Survey of Research and Studies," American Jewish History LXXIII, no. 4 (June 1984), 422-444. Circulation figures are from Berman, 35-36. Soltes (38-39) suggests that circulation figures should be augmented by 75% to approximate the actual number of readers.

3.Jack Sheinkman, "A Concern for How Jewish People Lived," Forward, May 23, 1982. Sheinkman's article is one of many nostalgic and laudatory testimonials in a special celebratory issue of the Forward.

4.Audiences of Jewish women in several cities have told the author that their mothers, aunts, or grandmothers were regular readers of the Forward in the post World War I period and that they frequently repeated anecdotes and discussed materials from it. Although most informants did not distinguish between the woman's page and other parts of the paper, one noted that her aunt specifically saved the women's page. Soltes states that a third of the readers of the Yiddish press were women and that feature sections (including, presumably, the women's page) were especially popular with women readers. Soltes, ibid, 37, 45.

5. On Regina Freshwater, see Leksikon fun der Nayer Yidisher Lilteratur, Vol 3, Congress for Jewish Culture, Inc., New York:

Marston Press, Inc, 1968, 504-505. On Dr. Esther Luria, see Leksikon Vol. 5, 29-30 and Norma Fain Pratt, "Culture and Radical Politics: Yiddish Women Writers, 1890-1940," American Jewish History Vol. LXX, no. 1 (September 1980), 91-105. Signatures to columns on the woman's page from March through September of 1919 also included M.A. Nagel, Jacob Padalier, S. Zeligson, M. Zametkin, Z. Levick, S. Ravitch, Z. Levin, Beatrice French, Yetta Gold, Lena Levin, and Sadie Vinacker.

6.For background on East European Jewish women in Europe and America see Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog, Life Is with People: The Culture of the Shtetl New York: Schocken, 1969, 131; Baum, Hyman, and Michel, op. cit.; Jacob Rader Marcus, The American Jewish Woman 1645-1980 and The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History both from New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1981; Rudolph Glanz, The Eastern European Jewish Woman, Vol I, The East European Jewish Woman. New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1976; and Maxine S. Seller, ed. Immigrant Women, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981.

7. On Jewish women as socialists and trade unionists, see Mari Jo Buhle, Women and American Socialism 1870-1920, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1981; Meredith Tax, The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict 1880-1917, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980; Alice Kessler-Harris, op. cit. and Maxine S. Seller, "The Rising of the Twenty Thousand: Sex, Class, and Ethnicity in the Shirtwaist Makers Strike of 1909" in Dirk Hoerder, ed. Struggle a Hard Battle: Essays on Working Class Immigrants , DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986,

254-279. On other areas of activism, see Elinor Lerner, "Jewish Involvement in the Woman Suffrage Movement," American Jewish History LXX, no. 4 (June 1981), 442-461; Paula Hyman, "Immigrant Women and Consumer Protest: The New York City Kosher Meat Boycott of 1902," American Jewish History LXX, no. 1 (September 1980), 91-105; and Diane Ravitch, The Great School Wars, New York City 1805-1973: A History of the Public Schools as Battlefield of Social Change, New York: Basic Books, 1974, 224-225.

8.See "New Styles for Women, (no author), Forward, "Women's Interests," March 22, 1919 and article by Sadie Vinacker, June 7, 1919. See also Seller, ibid, 256.

9 For Cahan's views on the relative lack of class consciousness among Jewish workers in the United States, see Cahan, op. cit., vol. IV, 553-555. Berman, op cit.., provides a survey over time of Cahan's editorial positions and political ideology. For background on the relationship between socialism and Judaism in the immigrant Jewish community of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Moses Rischin, The Promised City: New York's Jews 1870-1914, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962, 1977, 148-168.

10. A. Litvak (pseud.) "Her Realm as Slavery," Forward "Women's Interests," April 11, 1919. This and all subsequent translations from the Yiddish are my own. Citations from the Forward for March through June 1919 are from the Chicago edition of the Forward. Citations beginning in July 1919 are from the New York City edition.

11.On women's domestic cooperatives, see Dolores Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities, Cambridge: the MIT Press, 1982. On the distance between Jewish immigrant and American, middle class feminists, see Tax, op. cit., 170-179. See also Aileen Kraditor, The Ideals of the Woman's Suffrage Movement 1880-1920, New York: Norton, 1981.

12.Dr. Esther Luria, "Why Do Women Receive Lower Wages Than Men?" Forward, "Women's Interests," March 8, 1919.

13."Notes from the Women's World," Forward, "Women's Interests,"May 17, 1919

14."Notes from the Women's World," Forward, "Women's Interests," April 11, 1919.

15."Notes from the Women's World," Forward, "Women's Interests," May 17, 1919.

16 .Luria, op. cit.

17."Notes from the Women's World," Forward, "Women's Interests," May 17, 1919.

18 Luria, op. cit.

19 "Notes from the Women's World," Forward, "Women's Interests," March 1, 1919.

20 See Buhle, op. cit. passim and Alice Kessler-Harris, "Where Are the Organized Women Workers?" Feminist Studies 3:1 and 2 (Fall 1975) 92-110. See also Seller, op. cit. "The Uprising of the Twenty Thousand."

21 M. Zametkin, "Women's Rights in the Coming Election, Forward,

Women's Interests," June 21, 1919.

22 "Notes from the Women's World," Forward, "Women's Interests, March 8, 1919.

23. Regina Freshwater, "Help for the Sake of Advertisement and True Human Help," Forward, "Women's Interests," March 15, 1919

24. Regina Freshwater, "Feminine Complaints Against the Country," Forward, "Women's Interests, May 31, 1919; Regina Freshwater "Why People Avoid Sunday by Playing Cards," Forward, "Women's Interests," March 29, 1919.

25.Lerner, op. cit., 443, documents the important role played by the Jewish women of the Lower East Side in support of women's suffrage both through the Socialist Party and through suffrage associations in the state referendums of 1914 and 1917.

26. Zametkin, op. cit..

27 Ibid.

28."Notes from the Women's World," Forward, "Women's Interest," April 5, 1919

29. Ibid

30.Ibid.

31 Jacob Padalier, "A Woman Once Was Pope of Rome," Forward, "Women's Interests," April 5, 1919.

32. Jacob Padalier, "Women Heroes in the Great French Revolution," Forward, "Women's Interests," April 26; May 17, 24, and 21; June 7, 19, and 29; July 12, 20, and 27, 1919.

33.Philip Kranen, "to the Memory of Julia Pollock," Forward,

"Women's Interests," May 10, 1919; "Amelia Barr," Forward, "Women's Interests," March 22, 1919.

34."There Are Also Good Busybodies," Forward, "Women's Interests," April 16, 1919.

35. Lead Pencil, Forward, "Women's Interests," "The Schoolgirl," March 29, 1919; "The Marriageable Young Woman," April 11, 1919; "The Young Wife," May 2, 1919; "A Mother," June 11, 1919; "Her Duties to Her Home, Her Children, Herself," June 29, 1919; " A Woman in the Middle Years," July 20, 1919; "Second Youth," August 3, 1919. The author was identified as Beryl Botvinnik by Simon Weber, current editor of the Forward, in a telephone interview, October 26, 1984. For biographical information on Botvinnik, see Leksikon op. cit., Vol I, 212-213.

36. ibid. March 29, 1919

37.Ibid. April 11, May 2, June 29, 1919.

38 On middle class American views of housework, see Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English,For Her own Good:150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women, Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1979, 141-182.

39. Glos Polek, organ of the Polish Women's Aliance, for example, was comparable to the woman's page of the Forward in its feminist and labor orientation, but not in its commitment to preservation of the Polish language and cultural heritage. See Thaddeus Radziolowski, "Let Us Join Hands: The Polish Women's Alliance," in Maxine Seller, ed. Immigrant Women, op. cit., 174-179.

40 For an insightful description of cultural change and its

impact on East European Jewish immigrant women, see Baum, Hyman and Michel, op. cit. 187-233.

41.Regina Freshwater, "What Does 'Interesting Company' Mean?" Forward, "Women's Interests," August 31, 1919.

42 Yetta Gold, "Thousands of Young Women Seduced Because of the War," Forward, "Women's Interests," May 10, 1919.

43.Regina Freshwater, "Family Tragedies Because of Older Sisters," Forward, "Women's Interests," April 5, 1919.

44 "A Jewish Girl Who Broke the Heart of a Negro," Forward, "Women's Interests," March 22, 1919.

45. For example: "Old Men are More Independent than Young Ones," Forward, "Women's Interests," May 14, 1919; "Can a Rich Girl Be Married to a Poor Boy?" Forward, "Women's Interests," June 21, 1919.

46.Regina Freshwater, "The Lament with the Mothers-In-Law That Remains Always New," Forward, "Women's Interests," June 21, 1919.

47.Yetta Gold, "A Divorcee Because She Has Not Revealed Her Past," Forward, "Women's Interests," May 21, 1919.

48. Regina Freshwater, "When Women Will Be Protected," Forward, "Women's Interests," May 10, 1919. See also Freshwater, "Breaking Hearts in the Country," Forward, "Women's Interests," June 29, 1919 and S. Zeligson, "Are Men Always Wrong?" Forward, "Women's Interests," May 17, 1919.

49. Dr. Esther Luria, "The Child as a Person for Itself," Forward, "Women's Interests," April 28, 1919.

50.. Regina Freshwater, "Better to Be Childless Than to Have Bad Children," Forward, "Women's Interests," June 11, 1919.

51. On Jewish women in the birth control movement, see Buhle, op., cit., 276 and Emma Goldman, Living My Life, Vol 2, New York: Knopf, 269-272.

52.For a famous social worker's view of the adjustment problems of the immigrant housewife and mother, see Sophonisba Breckinridge, New Homes for Old, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1921.

53 Dr. Esther Luria, "Should One Whip Bad Children?" Forward, Women's Interests, July 27, 1919; S. Ravitch, "Should One Tell Children About Death?" Forward, "Women's Interests," March 15, 1919; Dr. Esther Luria, "Games Introduce a Child to Fantasy," Forward, "Women's Interests," March 22, 1919.

54. Dr. Esther Luria, "The Child and the Theatre," Forward, "Women's Interests," September 21, 1919.

55.Dr. Esther Luria, "The Child and Its Interests," Forward, "Women's Interests," April 11, 1919. See also Luria, "The Child and Its Memories, May 10, 1919.

56 Luria, "The Child As A Person for Itself" op. cit.

57. Ibid.

58. On Americanization in the schools, see David B. Tyack, The

One Best System: A History of American Urban Education Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974, 229-255; Selma Cantor Berrol, Immigrants at School: New York City 1898-1914, PhD Dissertation, New York University, 1968; and Bernard J. Weiss, ed., American Education and the European Immigrant, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982.

59. Luria, "The Child and Its Memories," op. cit.

60. Dr. Esther Luria, "Further Education for Children Ending Public School," Forward, "Women's Interests," June 21, 1919.

61 ibid

62 Ibid.

63.For material on the political behavior of Jewish women, especially in recent years, see Susan Welch and Fred Ulrich, The Political Life of American Jewish Women, New York: Biblio Press, 1984.